DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 119 390 EA 008 049

AUTHOR Kraushaar, Otto F.
TITLE Private Schools: From the Puritans to the Present. Fastback Series, No. 78. Bicentennial Series.
INSTITUTION Phi Delta Kappa, Bloomington, Ind.
PUB DATE 76
NOTE 55p.
AVAILABLE FROM Phi Delta Kappa, Eighth and Union, Box 789, Bloomington, Indiana 47401 ($0.50, quantity and membership discounts; payment must accompany orders of $5.00 or less)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$3.50 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS Conflict; *Educational History; Elementary Secondary Education; Higher Education; Historical Reviews; Parochial Schools; Private Colleges; *Private Schools; Public Education; Public Schools; State Church Separation; *United States History

ABSTRACT

Private education (both church-related and nonsectarian) has been an integral part of United States history since the colonial period. Until late in the nineteenth century, the concept of public, government-supported education was far from widespread. The notion that the government is responsible for providing free education for every child developed very slowly and did not gain general acceptance until after the Civil War. The transition from the idea of education as an extension of church and family, to the idea of education as a function of government and society as a whole, was very gradual. But once the concept of public education took root, conflict arose between private and public schooling. Often this conflict took on ugly racist and anti-parochial overtones. However, the conflict between public and church-related schools did not mean that public education was free of religious bias. Public education is still characterized by Protestant values, though their influence has progressively diminished. Public and private schools must solve complex problems arising from their frequently uneasy partnership. Both types of schools are essential in educating the nation's youth. (DS)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

ED 119390
EA 008 049

PRIVATE SCHOOLS: FROM THE PURITANS TO THE PRESENT

Otto F. Kraushaar

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Phi Delta Kappa

TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER.

FASTBACK 78

BICENTENNIAL SERIES

Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation

OTTO F. KRAUSHAAR

Otto F. Kraushaar is a native of Iowa where he received his early schooling in Lutheran and public schools. After receiving an A.B. and M.A. at the University of Iowa, he took a Ph.D. at Harvard University in philosophy. He then taught philosophy at various times at Smith, Amherst, Mt. Holyoke, and Harvard. He became president of Goucher College in 1948, a position which he held for nineteen years.

He is the author of many articles on philosophy and education and has written or co-authored four books, the most recent of which is *American Nonpublic Schools: Patterns of Diversity*, based on a national study supported by the Danforth Foundation. At that time he was attached to the Harvard Graduate School of Education as a research associate. He now devotes his time to study and writing at his residence in Baltimore, Maryland.

Series Editor, Donald W. Robinson

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword 5

The Colonial Experience 7

The Heyday of the Academies 16

The Church Schools in Modern Times 26
The Rise of Catholic Schools 28
The Growth of the Major Protestant School Groups 34
The Emergence of Hebrew Schools 42
Black Muslim Schools 44

The Panorama of Independent Schools 45

Bibliographical Note 53

PRIVATE SCHOOLS: FROM THE PURITANS TO THE PRESENT

By Otto F. Kraushaar

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 75-28648
ISBN 0-87367-078-7
Copyright © 1976 by The Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation
Bloomington, Indiana

FOREWORD

Private schooling has been an important aspect of American education from its foundations. No short overview can do justice to the contributions of the private sector from nursery to graduate schools. The tutors, private-venture schools, and parish schools of our colonial heritage, the early academies and other secondary schools, all of our initial colleges and the first graduate university, Johns Hopkins, were nonpublic endeavors.

Private schools have long offered the means for minority factions to protect and extend their micro-systems within the macro-structure of American society. In this manner the freedom to be different and so to enrich our cultural milieu has been extended. Through the years private operations initiated the kindergarten, education for women, normal schools, technological education, and numerous elements of special education for the handicapped. Legislatures and the judiciary have generally seen fit to protect these independent options which usually have been carried on without state support. Where the state was not ready to act, private elements often could and did.

Fortunately state regulations were usually minimal, allowing independent schooling to feature experimental programs and practices. One of the most striking examples of the innovative role, which should regularly characterize independent schooling, was provided in the reforms of the Progressive era. From proponents at Teachers College, Columbia, to leaders across the country at local levels, many of the elements of modern education were spawned and pilot-tested by private school personnel who spearheaded the progressive education movement. These elements reflected the fact that a quality education must maintain what is sound and essential at the same time that it promotes creative alternatives which help to meet changing conditions.

Dr. Kraushaar provides in this fastback an excellent survey, reminding us of the crucial influence of private education, not just upon the 10 percent of all students enrolled in our various schools, but upon American education in its entirety. And in this exposition we are helped to understand why increasing numbers of our citizens have great concern for maintaining the private sector.

Richard E. Gross
Stanford, California

THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE

The twentieth-century American notion that it is the government's responsibility to provide a free education for every child developed very gradually and gained general acceptance only after the Civil War. Prior to that time, the line between public and private schools was blurred, except in the minds of persons like Horace Mann and Henry Barnard who vigorously promoted the cause of free, universal education.

The momentous question in the colonial period was not whether the schools should be public or private, for that distinction had no meaning for the colonists, but how they could insure some degree of education for their children. Living on the edge of the raw wilderness, in a strange land, with the unpredictable Indians as near neighbors, they were fearful lest their young people lapse into barbarism. This was a concern of all settlers—the Anglicans in Virginia and the Carolinas, the Catholics in Maryland, the Puritans in New England, the Dutch Calvinists in New Netherlands, and the Quakers, Swedish and German Lutherans, Moravians, Dunkards and Mennonites in Pennsylvania. The kind and quality of schooling they maintained varied from one colony to another, but all shared the determination to bring up their children in the piety and civility they had known in the homeland.

The schools of colonial America had several distinguishing characteristics. First, the colonists conceived schooling as an extension of the family, the church, and the apprenticeship system rather than as a function of government. The civil authorities stepped in only to lend encouragement or support, or as a last

resort. Second was the deeply felt need for religious education. Schools were important because they taught the children to read the Bible, the catechism, and other pious literature. "That old deluder Satan," states the preamble to an early Massachusetts school act, is always scheming "to keep men from a knowledge of Scriptures. . . ." This point was particularly important to Protestant groups for whom the personal interpretation of the scriptures was a basic tenet of religious faith. Because so many of the colonists had come to these shores in search of religious freedom, schooling devoid of moral and religious content was unthinkable. And third, given the slow, primitive means of travel to and communication with the civilized Old World, the early schools often had to improvise or fall back on whatever resources were at hand in teaching talent, books, and for paying the schoolmaster.

In Jamestown, Virginia, where the struggle for survival was particularly fierce, the first efforts to found a school after the settlement of 1607 came to nought. The disastrous Indian massacre in 1622 discouraged further initiatives until 1635, when Benjamin Syms, a prosperous planter, left a legacy of 200 acres of land and eight cows in support of a free school at Elizabeth City. Inspired by this example, Thomas Eaton in 1659 left an even more substantial bequest of a similar kind. Others followed. The pattern of schools privately endowed but serving a public function was a familiar one to English settlers who knew it in the old country. The growth of schools in Virginia was hampered by the plantation system, which dispersed people widely along the rivers and estuaries of the region. Families coped with the problem in various ways. A few favored families sent their sons to England for an education. Wealthy families hired tutors for their own and neighbor's children. Here and there "old field schools," conducted in the open on worn out tobacco fields, were available, free to the poor, with others paying tuition. By 1724 at least half the Anglican parishes had schools in which the parson taught reading and spelling, the prototype of later charity schools. Some were assisted by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), an English missionary agency that helped provide teachers, books, and funds. Children on isolated farms had to depend on parents or other members of the household for such schooling as they could muster. Most received enough help to do the alphabet, recite the catechism, and scrawl their names.

In New England the situation was far more favorable to learning. With the colonists clustered in compact villages, town schools were practicable. Moreover, the settlers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony included about 130 alumni of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, men who were eager to bestow on their children the educational benefits they had enjoyed. In order to insure a steady supply of ministers and teachers, the foresighted Puritans founded Harvard College only eight years after the first landing.

The astonishing variety of schools created by the people of the Bay Colony fell into two kinds, petty schools and grammar schools, corresponding roughly to our elementary and secondary levels. The line separating them was not always sharply drawn. Chief among the petties was the dame school, an old English institution fondly remembered by the settlers. It was essentially a small household school conducted in the kitchen, dining room, or attic, by a mother, an indigent maiden lady, or a widow. Some were private schools supported by tuition, others were semipublic in that they were instigated by town authorities or received some help from the town treasury. Here pupils were taught the alphabet and reading with the aid of the hornbook and primer, and were introduced to the psalter and catechism. Other subjects, such as sewing, knitting, and embroidery for girls were taught in some. Alongside the dame schools a variety of private schools devoted chiefly to instruction in reading, writing, and ciphering sprang up. Writing schools concentrated on drilling students in the scrivener's art, while evening and summer schools taught reading and the rudiments of arithmetic. Some of the latter were designed for apprentices whose masters were unable to impart the rudiments to their charges.

The crown of the New England town schools was the Latin grammar school. Modelled on the endowed tuition schools of England, it offered the traditional classical curriculum. The town fathers of Boston led the way by founding a grammar school in 1635, and other towns in the Bay Colony and beyond soon followed suit. Within a decade of the Bay settlement, seven of the twenty-two towns had taken steps to that end. The schools were supported in a variety of ways as the towns experimented with various alternatives. At Boston, the townsmen voted that "our brother Philomen Pormont shall be entreated to become schoolmaster," but made no provision for his upkeep. After Pormont's

departure, forty-five of the richer inhabitants each subscribed an amount to engage a new master. When this proved insufficient, the town assigned the rent of Deer Island to cover the deficit. When this too proved inadequate, the townsmen turned reluctantly to the town rate, that is, a sort of head tax on each child attending school.

Other towns experimented with other means. At Roxbury the school was supported by private donors whose children were admitted free, while others paid tuition. Some town schools were endowed by gifts or legacies consisting of land or invested funds, while others tried to defray school costs by applying rent from public lands or the proceeds from profitable enterprises such as fisheries, farms, ferries, mills, or license fees. When taxation was resorted to, it took the form of a rate, that is, a fixed charge by the subjects studied or by the week, levied only on families whose children attended school.

The masters of classical languages and literature in the grammar schools acquired a reputation for rigor carried to the point of harshness, with the birch rod not spared. Most famous of the early teachers was Ezekiel Cheever, who, after teaching for thirty-eight years at New Haven, Ipswich, and Charlestown, accepted a call to Boston Latin where he died at his post at the age of ninety-four, having been a schoolmaster for seventy years. "Liquid gold should fill the pen by which such things are told," declaimed Cotton Mather, his former pupil, in a long eulogy.

The true gauge of how deeply the Puritans believed in education is the successive acts by which they strove to make the town governments responsible for the supervision of schools. In 1642 the General Court required the selectmen to make periodic inquiries of parents and masters concerning the education of children and apprentices, "especially their ability to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country." By 1647 the Court felt obliged to direct the towns more firmly and required every town of fifty householders to hire a schoolmaster to teach reading and writing, and every town of one hundred householders to establish a grammar school where students could be prepared for Harvard College.

Public school historians often point to these and subsequent acts of the Massachusetts General Court as marking the beginning of the American public school system. That claim is not well

substantiated. The state which was directing the towns in educational concerns was, of course, an ecclesiastical as well as a civil state, one which tolerated no religious rivals. Hence the town schools, with their heavy stress on religion, were more like parochial schools. Furthermore, though the schools were often called "free," they were seldom free to all children, since many paid their way by tuition or "rates." More than a century would pass before free, compulsory education, supported by a general tax, was introduced. And that could happen only after the colonial concept of the family, the church, and the state had been radically transformed. "When all obtainable light has been shed upon the subject," wrote Walter Small, a careful student of early New England schools, "but one conclusion can be reached: the grammar school was not a popular institution; it was conceived, supported, and perpetuated by the few; its extension was slow; its course in most towns was erratic; and yet, considering all the struggles of this period, it was a marvellous institution, the bedrock of future educational systems."

Alongside the quasi-public town schools there existed a variety of purely private schools, for girls as well as boys, offering a wide range of subjects. Their number and popularity increased rapidly during the eighteenth century. Boston newspapers carried advertisements for courses in music, embroidery, dancing, and French for girls, and in shorthand, bookkeeping, surveying, navigation, mathematics, and Greek for boys. These schools were operated by enterprising ministers, teachers, practitioners of a trade or skill, or dames who set up their own shop and charged what the traffic would bear. Since the town schools usually admitted boys only, girls had to secure their education as best they could, at home or in dame or evening schools. The fact that a high proportion of New England women were literate testifies to the surprising effectiveness of this catch-as-catch-can education.

In the Dutch colony of New Netherlands the development of schools followed a different course. Unlike the Bay Colony, the Dutch settlement was basically a commercial venture conducted under a charter granted to the Dutch West India Company. But though the Company's primary interest lay in fur trading and commerce rather than in the transmission of culture or the building of a New Jerusalem, the directors in Amsterdam and their colonial deputies took the initiative in founding schools in eleven

communities. This is not surprising in view of the Dutch Republic's advanced educational tradition, and the concern expressed by the Dutch settlers lest their children grow up bereft of the civilized decencies or lacking the true faith. Patrons who were organizing new settlements were instructed to include in their plans a minister and schoolmaster. The records show that by 1637 Master Adam Roelantsen was on the payroll of the Company and presiding over the New Amsterdam school, known later as the Collegiate School, with a continuous 342-year history from that day to this.

Once in being, the schools, steeped in Calvinism, came under joint civil and church supervision. The Company paid the masters, but the Dutch Reformed Church in Amsterdam saw to the licensing and supervision of teachers, and gave encouragement to the founding of schools in outlying villages. Children from rich and poor families were admitted without discrimination. During Peter Stuyvesant's autocratic rule the quality of schooling provided was challenged. The nine tribunes representing the colonists addressed a Grand Remonstrance to the States General in Holland complaining of the sad state of learning in the colony, and declared: "There should be a public school, provided with at least two good masters, so that first of all in so wild a country, where there are many loose people, the youth may be well taught and brought up, not only in reading and writing, but also in the knowledge and fear of the Lord." Not much came of the Remonstrance.

By the mid-eighteenth century the town officials petitioned the Company for a master to conduct a Latin school, noting that the nearest such institution was at Boston, "a great distance from here." The Company acted with dispatch, and within a year Alexander Carolus Curtius, the first of a succession of Latin masters, was drilling his charges in Latin declensions.

While the schools of the Dutch colony were not up to those of Massachusetts Bay, the Dutch were more diligent in promoting education than were the Anglicans after they took over in 1664. Here and there towns populated by English settlers organized schools on their own initiative, and in some communities the SPG helped establish charity schools. But the English and other ethnic minorities in the area relied chiefly on private tuition or parochial schools. By 1762 New York City could boast of ten Eng-

lish and two Dutch tuition schools, as well as one each in French and Hebrew.

In Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, schooling was almost entirely the province of the churches all during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Attracted by the tolerance and liberality of William Penn's benign Quaker rule, people of many nationalities and faiths flocked to his domain. English Anglicans and Scotch Presbyterians, Dutch Reformed, Swedish and German Lutherans, and groups loyal to small Anabaptist sects all found a haven there. In contrast with the homogeneity of the New England towns, the Pennsylvania settlements contained a heterogeneous mixture of languages, creeds, ethnic backgrounds, and life-styles, with no group predominating. So schooling was left quite naturally to private and parochial initiatives instead of government direction, and Pennsylvania became a fertile field for the development of parochial schools.

When the influx of German immigrants after 1740 became so heavy as to constitute about three-fifths of the population, Benjamin Franklin proposed the establishment of free English schools "where they [Germans] are now too thickly settled." While praising the Germans for their husbandry, he was annoyed that they clung so stubbornly to their native language and customs. A dozen charity schools were opened with the help of the SPG and the enthusiastic support of Henry Melchior Muehlenberg and other Lutheran leaders. But this effort to speed the Americanization of the Germans ran afoul of strong resentment in the rank and file, and was soon abandoned.

William Penn was among the early advocates of a system of free public schools "so that youth may be trained up in virtue and useful knowledge and arts." Though the Quakers did not succeed in founding a system of town schools based on public laws, as the Massachusetts Puritans did, they managed in one way or another, in free or tuition schools, to teach their own and other children to read, write, and cipher. Illiteracy was rare among Quaker children. More than any other religious group, the Quakers were responsible for the spread of a liberal philosophy of schooling which envisaged schools that were public and private, English and classical, cultural and practical, for girls as well as boys. The William Penn Charter School, founded in 1689, was one of the earliest embodiments of that philosophy.

As Philadelphia grew steadily larger, and more prosperous and cosmopolitan, many private venture schools emerged. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, an ambitious youth who could afford the tuition could choose from among a variety of vocational and cultural subjects. Courses in navigation, mathematics, surveying, science, and bookkeeping were available for boys, and sewing, fancy needlework, and handicrafts for girls.

Despite the growing emphasis on practical courses, there was no dearth of private instruction in liberal and cultural subjects. Foreign language offerings in Philadelphia private schools were the richest to be found in colonial America, with instruction offered in Latin, Greek, German, Spanish, Hebrew, Portuguese, and Arabic. Nor were the arts neglected. Despite the rumblings of the more dour Quakers, private schools offering drawing, painting, music, and dancing for both sexes flourished.

The early schools in Maryland differed from those of other colonies in harboring the first Catholic institutions in English America. Under the royal charter granted the Calvert family, the ruling class was Roman Catholic, while the settlers were predominantly Protestant, and became more so with the passage of time. Lord Baltimore, as the Catholic proprietor of a Protestant empire, knew he had to walk softly. The Toleration Act of 1649 aimed to secure Catholics against persecution by Protestants, should they gain control. He took steps to see that "no scandal or offence be given to any of the Protestants," and that Catholic worship was conducted "as privately as may be." At his request three overly zealous Jesuits who had come over on the Ark and the Dove were withdrawn by the Vatican. Under the cover of this uneasy truce, the development of Catholic education was shadowy and halting. A beginning was made near the middle of the century as Ralph Crouch, then a Catholic layman associated with the Jesuit mission at Newtown, opened a school "for the teaching of humanities."

But the Protestants began to make life difficult for Catholic teachers, and soon took the initiative in education. A succession of acts passed by the state assembly in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries envisaged a plan for grammar schools to be erected in each county. Though the plan was not carried out, there is evidence that schools were in operation at Annapolis, Chestertown, and in Kent County. The ubiquitous SPG

was active in Maryland also in helping to found and maintain schools. And here as in other colonies, private schools and tutors supplied the educational needs of those who could afford the fees.

By the end of the colonial period, the school as an institution was firmly rooted on the American continent. But nothing resembling the modern concept of secular, free, compulsory, universal education had as yet appeared. Even the impressive rhetoric of the Bay Colony's school laws envisioned a role for schooling quite different from that which developed in the twentieth century. The colonial schools were conceived to be supplemental to the informal education that the child received in the home, in church, on the farm, in the shop, in commerce, in village life, and by reading and self-study. But the nationalized, urbanized, industrialized America that was to come would provoke a revolution in education which saddled the schools with more and more responsibilities, including many exercised formerly by the family, church, and community at large.

With nationhood came a new awareness of the need for intelligent leadership, an informed citizenry, and an educated professional class. New responsibilities were in the making for the nation's schools and colleges. Eight colleges were in being at the time of the Revolution. In the order of founding and called by their present names they are: Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, University of Pennsylvania, Brown, and Rutgers. Instruction in the colonial colleges was generally at a level not much above that of the best grammar schools and academies; in fact, some colleges originated as academies. The development of the colonial colleges into true universities offering professional training waited on a major improvement in secondary school preparation. The academies were the first step in that direction.

THE HEYDAY OF THE ACADEMIES

While the colonial period witnessed the creation of a remarkable diversity of schools, the state of formal education at the time of the Revolution must be described as haphazard. Quasi-public town schools were available to children in the larger communities, as were charity schools for the poor and a variety of private schools for those who could afford them. But for some children little more than a bare introduction to learning was accessible, and those living in sparsely settled country lacked even that. The biggest void was the paucity of middle schools, other than the languishing grammar school, which was already obsolete, because its rigid curriculum and narrow aims were out of tune with the dramatic social, political, and cultural changes sweeping over the burgeoning nation.

It was this vacuum in middle schooling that the academies were created to fill. The age of the academies, extending roughly from the Revolution to the post-Civil War period, marked a fresh start, envisaging a broader, more advanced, and more practical formal education for more young people. Though the academies were bewildering in their variety and lack of uniformity, they had certain characteristics in common. They were middle schools offering generally both a college preparatory course and a terminal program. Moreover, many academies, including some institutions known as seminaries, institutes or, in rare cases, high schools, were incorporated by the state and governed by self-perpetuating boards of trustees, a pattern of organization made familiar by colonial colleges and business enterprises. Many states encouraged academy founding by authorizing grants of land and

money to chartered institutions. That assistance, augmented by life-giving tuition payments, by church support for denominational academies, and by income from endowment for the few fortunate enough to have any, enabled thousands of academies to carry on fruitful careers, though for many it was a precarious one, perpetually at the brink of insolvency.

The academy movement was greatly facilitated by an 1817 ruling of the Supreme Court in the famous Dartmouth College case. Dartmouth owed its founding and early maintenance to the strenuous exertions of Eleazer Wheelock, a New Light Congregational minister, who eventually passed the presidency to his son John. When a quarrel ensued over whether the institution was to remain under the Wheelock dynasty or be governed by its trustees, the New Hampshire legislature intervened in an attempt to mandate a significant change in the college's charter. An appeal to the Supreme Court led to a decision, written by Chief Justice Marshall, destined to have a profound effect on the history of higher education and the academies, for it gave assurance to founders that, once incorporated, they were secure in the control of their institutions.

The academies differed significantly from the grammar schools in several respects. While the academy was usually bound closely to its local community, it admitted out-of-towners from near and distant points. The academies were also more hospitable to women, and in time numerous coeducational as well as separate academies for girls sprang up. The most significant difference, however, was in the curriculum. In place of the traditional classical program of the grammar school, the academy offered a diversified, flexible curriculum ranging over English, classical, and practical studies. Some academies taught almost anything that was in appreciable demand. And unlike the grammar school staff consisting of a single master and perhaps an usher or two, the better academies boasted of a "faculty," albeit a tiny one. Because the academy students' preparation was often seriously deficient, while some students alternated seasonally between farm work and academy attendance, a graded system of instruction was often out of the question, and the academic quality of courses varied greatly. The best academies overlapped and rivalled the colleges, while the poorer ones rose only a little way above the level of the common school.

The enthusiasm for the founding of academies came chiefly from either philanthropic individuals and groups, or from religious denominations, especially certain Protestant churches stirred by the revivalist movement known as the Great Awakening. The rapid spread of the academies suggests that they were peculiarly suited to the changing time and life aims of the people who utilized them. Henry Barnard's census of educational institutions in 1855 listed 6,185 academies enrolling 263,096 students, compared with 239 colleges enrolling 80,978. New York led the list, followed by Pennsylvania, Ohio, Massachusetts, and Kentucky. Barnard found academies in every state and territory, including even frontier Texas which had 97 by 1850.

Because the academies developed in great freedom, with no two exactly alike, it is important to probe the spirit and philosophy that lay back of the movement. Why did the academy, with its loose-jointed curriculum appeal so strongly over more cogent, systematic plans, such as Thomas Jefferson's carefully articulated design for a state system of education?

The roots of the academy are not easily traced because they are many and varied. Influences as seemingly diverse as the thought of John Milton, John Locke, and Benjamin Franklin shaped the academy ideal. The name "academy," freighted with classical associations reaching back to Plato's famous school in Greek antiquity, traces its modern usage most directly to John Milton's essay *Of Education*, which Franklin quoted freely. Milton assailed the sterility of the classical curriculum in the English schools and universities of this time, and proposed in its place an academy with a broader, more practical course of study. His ideas fired the dissenters who, having been driven out of English schools and universities by the Restoration, created "dissenting academies," which rapidly gained a reputation as centers of new thought in theology and education. Transplanted to America, they produced institutions such as William Tennent's "Log College," at Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, whose graduates, entering the field as New Side Presbyterian ministers, were instrumental in founding Princeton and other colleges, as well as a host of academies, especially in the South.

Another strain of thought influencing the academy ideal was the philosophy of John Locke. His commonsense temper of mind, his emphasis on experience, his deference to science, and his op-

timistic utilitarianism attracted men like Franklin who dared consult their own reason and experience instead of relying on tradition. In *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* Locke outlined his concept of a proper curriculum which, in its emphasis on foreign languages, mathematics, science, history, and manual arts, anticipated the academy program.

But it was Franklin, more than any other figure, who was influential in shaping the concept of the academy. To Franklin, emerging America was an open-ended universe for which the knowledge, traditions, and inhibitions of the past provided a poor preparation. So he took matters into his own hands by utilizing every available community resource as a means of continuous self-instruction. His *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania*, and *Idea of the English School* mark a new approach. Franklin was convinced that the rigid classical curriculum had degenerated into a shibboleth of the learned class, and that the grammar school, whose chief beneficiaries were the ministry, the scholar, and the gentleman, was an anachronism. What was needed in its place was a broad education in subjects "the most useful and most ornamental . . . regard being had for the several professions for which they are intended."

Most accounts trace the origin of the academies to the Dummer School (now Governor Dummer Academy), founded at Byefield, Massachusetts, in 1763, with the renowned classicist, Samuel Moody, as first master. But Dummer began as a traditional Latin grammar school, and its history, like those of the two Phillips academies, illustrates how long it took to break the stranglehold of the classical curriculum. Samuel Phillips, Jr., founder of Andover, wanted to have his academy stress English rather than Latin, which he considered a dead language by which youths are introduced to "heathen writers." But his friend, Eliphalet Pearson, serving as the first preceptor, talked him out of this. So the curriculum of the school, when it opened in 1778, did not differ much from that of the Latin grammar school. But Samuel's uncle, John Phillips of Exeter, had better luck. The school bearing his name opened with two distinct programs: a classical college preparatory department, and an English department. The latter program embraced at one time or another subjects as various as English grammar and literature, geography, mathematics, logic, science, history, moral and political philosophy, French, and Spanish. It

was this plan of studies that would be followed by later academies. Academy students differed in several respects from grammar school youngsters. They varied as to age, and there was little attempt at age-grading. In the first class at Andover, six-year-old Josiah Quincy, later to become a Boston mayor and a Harvard president, sat next to thirty-year-old James Anderson of Londonderry, New Hampshire. Out-of-town academy students boarded with respectable town families. School dormitories did not come into being until much later. With the students living in the town, the school authorities took such steps as they could to curb the harrying excesses of youthful ebullience. But unlike the later boarding schools, it was the host family that stood *in loco parentis* rather than the school.

Andover and Exeter were atypical of the academies in that they were well endowed by their founders. For most academies financial support was usually the critical factor. The astonishing proliferation of these schools from a handful in New England and the South at the time of the Revolution, to over six thousand at the peak of the movement in 1850 was possible only because states and territories provided tangible encouragement by subsidizing them, often as elements of a statewide secondary school system. The device of incorporation proved to be an effective way for the state to encourage secondary education by creating a channel for the state aid which was so often crucial.

In this as in so many matters pertaining to schools, Massachusetts took the lead. Following close upon the incorporation of the Dummer and Phillips academies came the founding of others in eight towns. Since three of these had received grants of land with their charters, petitions for similar treatment came from other towns. The state legislature in 1797 confirmed the practice of endowing incorporated academies with state lands under certain terms and conditions. With this bounty the academies increased so rapidly, 112 acts of incorporation had passed the legislature by 1840. In addition there was an uncounted number of unincorporated academies.

In the meantime, other states were not idle. The New York legislature created the University of New York in 1784 under a Board of Regents entrusted with the supervision of schools and colleges. A state "literature fund" in support of education was created, using proceeds from the sale of state land augmented by

appropriations from general funds, a device used in other states also. Between 1787 and 1853, 300 academies were incorporated by the state, and a host of others existed unincorporated.

As the movement gathered momentum in the early nineteenth century it spread rapidly to the midwestern states. In Ohio, where many academies were founded under denominational auspices, some took the name "high school," a designation borrowed from the Scottish school system. In Indiana, the academies emerged as "free county seminaries;" free, in the sense that they were open to all citizens of the county, though most paid tuition. The Illinois experience resembled Indiana's: the academies were private institutions chartered by the legislature and aided from time to time by state and local public funds. In Michigan, amidst abortive attempts to create a state system of education under the state university, many academies emerged between 1830 and 1874. They declined rapidly once the public high schools took over by legal enactment. And in Iowa, where the population was thinly spread, academies with local boarding arrangements proved to be especially viable.

In the South, the rise of the academies antedated the Revolution. Here they owed their origin chiefly to private teachers, with Princetonians preferred, and to Protestant religious denominations. Once a "literary fund" had been created, the various states undertook the chartering of academies and gave permission, in some cases, to raise funds by means of lotteries. By 1800, twenty-one academies had been chartered, and that number grew to 225 by 1860, not counting unincorporated ones. Virginia paved the way legally for academy founding, but provided very little state aid. Georgia and Tennessee, on the other hand, developed an academy plan, county by county, aided by grants of land and public funds. By 1831, over 100 academies had been established in Georgia.

The denominationally sponsored academies were not the work only of Protestants. Various religious communities of the Roman Catholic Church were also active in the academy field. A glance at these is reserved for the next chapter.

As the academy movement matured, it functioned as a proving ground for several new trends in American education. The advantageous feature of the academy-type organization was its autonomy: each school was a law unto itself, unburdened by a central

bureaucracy or external controls. As such, it was in a position to respond rapidly to new demands or accommodate itself to new trends. As a result, the concept of middle schooling that the academies developed and passed on to the emerging public high schools was in significant respects different from the one that prevailed at the beginning of the movement.

One of these differences concerns the role of science in schooling. In their zeal to provide a curriculum which was both comprehensive and responsive to changing demands, the academies gave a growing place to instruction in the sciences. The well-established ones taught the elements of astronomy, physics, chemistry, geology, botany, physiology, and zoology. The offerings in applied science included engineering science, surveying, navigation, and mineralogy. Doubtless, many academies overreached themselves. Given the teaching talent they could command, often little more than a smattering of learning was imparted.

A second development was the introduction of pedagogy and courses in teacher education. The academy was the precursor of the normal school. In fact, once the public high school outdistanced the academy as the chief agency of middle schooling, many academies enjoyed a second career as normal schools, and remained for some decades the chief supplier of teachers for the common schools.

In the third place, the academies greatly extended opportunities for the education of young women, either in coeducational schools or in separate academies. The earliest academy offering a curriculum comparable to that of the boys' schools was Timothy Dwight's Greenfield Hill Academy, Connecticut, founded in 1785. The famous Moravian Seminary for Girls at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, is often cited as the earliest, but at its founding in 1742 it was a parochial school rather than an academy. In a climate of largely unchallenged male chauvinism, the growth of girls' academies was an uphill battle. One of the vigorous champions of women's education, the renowned scientist, Dr. Benjamin Rush, helped establish the Young Ladies Academy at Philadelphia in 1787. Gradually, after the turn of the century, girls' and coeducational academies emerged in growing numbers. Among the most famous was Ipswich Academy, Massachusetts.

Above all it was the trio of doughty pioneers—Emma Willard,

Catherine Beecher, and Mary Lyon—who provided the major impetus. Emma Willard, a personable, resourceful leader, created the Troy Female Seminary (now the Emma Willard School) in 1821. In her *Plan for Improving Female Education* she inveighed against the wispy, finishing-school curriculum of the late eighteenth-century ladies boarding school. Emma Willard proposed in its place an education in subjects "solid and useful." The curriculum of the proposed seminary would fall under four heads: religious and moral, literary, domestic, and ornamental. "Literary" was broadly interpreted to include natural philosophy, mathematics, and the sciences concerning "the operations of the human mind" and "how they apply to education." Such an education, she pointed out, would confer public benefits in that it would fit able young women for teaching careers. Mrs. Willard's concern for teacher education became the dominant interest of her long and fruitful career.

Mary Lyon's Mt. Holyoke Seminary (now Mt. Holyoke College) developed the intellectual interest of women to the highest point. She saw no reason why women should not have as rigorous an education as men. The seminary she founded in 1836 laid down firm entrance requirements and provided a demanding curriculum in literary studies and science. Moreover, she wanted to make it possible for daughters of poor farmers and artisans to attend her school. So she trudged tirelessly over the New England hills campaigning for an endowment fund among farmers, villagers, church-goers, and townsfolk, accepting gifts in kind, anything to help keep the tuition low. When the seminary opened, the charge for tuition and lodging was $64 for the year.

The Troy and Mt. Holyoke seminaries, along with Catherine Beecher's Hartford Female Seminary, established a New England tradition that spread rapidly to other sections, to the South especially, where the female seminary became a vogue. In the Midwest, however, the proliferating academies were overwhelmingly coeducational.

Other types of academies were created to serve special educational ends. Many colleges founded just before or after the Civil War discovered that many matriculating students were woefully unprepared. So they created their own preparatory departments, often known as a Latin school or academy. In some cases these appendages enrolled more students than the college proper. They

23

were discontinued as the high schools grew in numbers and quality, and as more and better private boarding and day schools entered the field of college preparation.

Another specialized institution of the academy type was the military school. The founding of the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1802, and the Naval Academy at Annapolis in 1845, greatly stimulated the creation of private military schools. The instruction at West Point and Annapolis, dedicated not only to the military arts but to science, engineering, history, and foreign languages was at the college level from the outset. But the surge of private military boarding academies, coming after the Civil War and lasting until well into the twentieth century, was chiefly at the secondary level. The educational philosophy of these schools with their uniformed cadet corps is the classical concept of total education by means of rigorous physical and mental discipline. A surprising number of the surviving military schools are church-related, often with an Episcopal or Catholic affiliation.

After the Civil War the academies began a slow decline, more slowly in the South than elsewhere, as the free public high school came to the fore. In the century that spanned Cotton Mather and Horace Mann, that powerful advocate of universal, free education, the distinction between "private" and "public" education was steadily sharpened. The face of the new nation and the character of its population changed rapidly. A population that numbered about thirteen million in 1830 had exploded into thirty-two million by 1860. Of these, four million had come in the tides of immigration. With industrialization and urbanization came massive economic expansion and increased wealth. The problem of financing schools, which so vexed the small colonial towns, took a more hopeful turn when people with more taxable wealth began congregating in cities. Moreover, the revolutionary social and economic changes created a rising demand for both more, and more advanced, formal education. The academy movement with its reliance on private initiative coupled with a modicum of state aid produced a chancy, uneven distribution of secondary schools that left many communities poorly served. The public high school emerged in this context of new means, needs, and opportunities, as the academy had risen a century earlier in response to quite different circumstances.

As the public high schools grew in numbers and public acceptance, the academies faced the option to close or to go forward with a new mission. A few became colleges, some were transformed into state normal schools, many were acquired by local communities and converted into public high schools, while a substantial group in the Northeast and South altered their character and emerged as socially and academically exclusive college preparatory boarding schools.

THE CHURCH SCHOOLS IN MODERN TIMES

"On my arrival in the United States," wrote Alexis de Tocqueville in the 1830s, "the religious aspect of the country was the first thing that struck my attention; and the longer I stayed there, the more I perceived the great political consequences resulting from this new state of things." Tocqueville's observation is nowhere better illustrated than in the history of education. From colonial times until well into the nineteenth century it was commonly assumed by most Americans that religion and education go hand in hand. There were notable exceptions, of course. Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, for example, were less respectful than their contemporaries of sectarian prerogatives. But such was the power of the churches, it took Jefferson forty years to found the University of Virginia, and when it opened in 1825 it was religiously entangled in ways he had struggled to avoid, and his plan for a carefully graded system of public schools for Virginia foundered on the shoals of sectarian opposition. Long after the separation of church and state had been mandated by the First Amendment to the Constitution, sectarian groups functioned as the initiating agency and dynamic centers in the spread of education, spawning schools of many kinds, not only in the exploding urban centers but along the remote frontiers.

The reasons for the upsurge of parochial schools in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are complex. Three interrelated developments may be singled out. First, the role of religion in America had undergone a significant transformation during the eighteenth century. With the disestablishment of the colonial

church-states there emerged a pattern of multidenominationalism that became the most powerful determinant of group life. In an open society characterized by a growing degree of religious toleration, competing denominational rivalries became the dominant force in education.

A second factor was the accelerating changes of the physical and social environments of nineteenth-century Americans. The pace of industrialization and urbanization, the surging westward movement, and above all the massive influx of immigrants combined to rupture the continuity and integrative power of the more staid society of the past. By the time the great migrations were over, Americans had become ethnically and linguistically the most diverse, pluralistic people on earth. For most immigrants the primary context of identification was their religious group, usually associated with ethnic and linguistic loyalties. The form and content of the education that the immigrant sought for his children clearly reflected his desire to utilize the school as an agency of group survival.

A third factor was the character of the public school movement. Given the pervasive influence of religion in the United States, it was inevitable that the public schools would be judged, community by community, more closely on how they affected the student's moral and religious outlook than on his progress in secular studies. Horace Mann understood this well. In his grand design, the schools were to be all things to all children; besides providing a good secular education, they would impart a religiously rooted value system forming the bedrock of American republicanism. Himself a practicing Unitarian, Mann sincerely believed the schools could instruct the young in universal religious principles untainted by special creedal affirmations. What it came to in practice, however, was a generalized Protestantism based on the St. James Bible, the Episcopal Book of Common Prayer, and moral saws in the Primer, some of them openly anti-Catholic. Many Catholics saw the public school as essentially an establishment of Protestant religion, and as such a threat to Catholic faith and culture. Even orthodox Protestants found the watered-down religion purveyed by the public schools to be "godless." And so the insoluble issue of religion in the schools became a strong incentive for Catholics, Protestants, and Jews to build their own schools.

27

The Rise of Catholic Schools

The response of the Roman Catholic leadership was to build in the course of little more than a century the world's largest private school system. At its crest in the mid-1960s it consisted of over 13,000 parochial, diocesan, and religious order or community schools enrolling well over five million students annually. It was a prodigious feat accomplished in the face of, and partly in response to, severe internal stresses stemming from the heterogeneity of millions of Catholic immigrants, and in reaction to the strong anti-Catholic bias that persisted in the United States until recent decades.

The growth of the church and its schools in colonial times was shadowy and obstructed. The Roman communion in 1785 counted only twenty-four priests and about 25,000 souls, mostly in Maryland and Pennsylvania. Before the Revolution, there was a school at Bohemia Manor, Maryland, remembered for two of its graduates, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the only Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence, and his cousin John Carroll, the first bishop of the Baltimore Diocese, originally embracing practically the whole of the United States. And in Philadelphia, where German Jesuits were active, Father Ferdinand Farmer, a member of Franklin's Philosophical Society and a trustee of the College of Philadelphia, was instrumental in the founding of a school at St. Mary's Church, now known as the mother-school of Catholic parochials.

During the quarter century of Bishop Carroll's rule, the parochial schools grew slowly. In a pastoral letter of 1792 he expressed the hope that Catholics would unite with people of other denominations in founding common schools. Because he was conscious of the lack of an educated, literary elite in American Catholic circles, he threw the weight of his prestige into creating more opportunities for Catholics in secondary and higher education, institutions training teachers and priests. Georgetown Academy was launched in 1791, "open to students of every religious profession;" and a group of French Sulpicians, fleeing the French Revolution, opened St. Mary's Seminary at Baltimore the same year. At about this time also, Mother Seton began the remarkable career which contributed so richly to the education of young women and the training of parochial school teachers. The key move was the founding of the Sisters of Charity, the first native re-

28

ligious community for women. By 1850 this new order had opened some thirty-five academies for girls, free schools, and orphanages in eleven states. Mother Seton was not alone in this endeavor. The Sisters of St. Dominic were active in Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee, and later in Texas and California, launching parochial and convent schools and orphanages, as were the Sisters of Loretto, fanning out from the Diocese of Bardstown, Kentucky, into five western states.

As the tempo of Catholic educational activities rose, a massive problem emerged. Between 1790 and 1850 over a million Catholic immigrants landed in the United States, an unbroken tide that subsided only at the onset of World War I. This inundation gave the church, in the words of John Tracy Ellis, "a foreign coloring that at once baffled its friends and exasperated its enemies." The chaotic growth of the church by the rapid addition of foreign nationals goes far in explaining the internal stresses and external pressures with which it had to cope throughout the last half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. The census of 1850 counted just under a million Irish, most of them Catholic, coming in as impoverished peasants bringing with them little more than a fervent hope for a fresh start. Compared with other Catholic nationality groups, the Irish enjoyed a superiority not only in numbers but in the possession of the English tongue. As the church struggled to assimilate the Irish majority to other groups of the faithful who had migrated from western and southern Europe, serious stresses surfaced.

The rapid influx of foreign nationals into the church had the effect also of aggravating the latent hostility to Catholics and foreigners long prevalent among non-Catholic Americans. A succession of organizations made it their business to whip up xenophobic emotions and anti-Catholic militancy, often erupting into violence and bloodshed. In 1830, a group of Protestant ministers launched the blatantly anti-Catholic paper called *The Protestant* and organized the American Protestant Association. In 1854 the national Know-Nothing Party emerged, dedicated to spreading the notion that Catholicism is a satanic conspiracy bearing dark schemes to subvert republican government and all true religion. By 1887, it was the American Protective Association that carried the nativist banner of hate into the twentieth century. After that the Ku Klux Klan took over.

The Protestant crusade, reaching right into the public school classrooms, was very upsetting to loyal Catholic children and their parents. As the reigning majority, the Protestants not only expected the schools to reflect their own faith, they saw to it that the King James Bible and Protestant prayers and hymns were used for religious worship and instruction. Beyond that, the *New England Primer* and other school texts were not above injecting admonitions such as, "Child behold the Man of Sin, the Pope, worthy of thy utmost hatred . . .," and other warnings on the perils of Romanism.

Protestant-Catholic tensions were further exacerbated by Catholic efforts to obtain public funds for the maintenance of parochial schools. The issue came into sharp focus in New York, where from 1795 to 1825 the state had subsidized all schools in the city, virtually all of which were conducted by religious bodies. When these funds were cut off, Bishop John Hughes, a forceful, colorful prelate, became the storm-center of a bitter controversy that ended with the passage of a law in 1842 forbidding state aid to any school in which "any religious sectarian doctrine or tenet shall be taught, inculcated, or practiced." It was the beginning of the end of religion in the public schools. "The time has almost come," declared the Bishop, "when it will be necessary to build the schoolhouse first and the church afterward."

Indeed, the time was not far off. The First Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1852, surveying the outbreaks of anti-Romanism, bloody riots, church burnings, and tons of inflammatory anti-Catholic propaganda, exhorted Catholic parishes to build and maintain their own schools. But the die was not yet cast. Here and there Catholic leaders joined hands with friendly public school and community leaders in trying to arrange for religious teaching in the schools under a shared-time plan. Such an arrangement flourished in Lowell, Massachusetts, for two decades, with the approval of none other than Horace Mann, the first Secretary of Education in the state. Prior to the Civil War, similar arrangements had been tried by communities in at least ten eastern and midwestern states, for the benefit of Protestant as well as Catholic children. Even after the Civil War influential bishops such as John Ireland of St. Paul, John Lancaster Spalding of Peoria, and James Gibbons of Richmond and Baltimore continued to appeal for compromise and cooperation with the public

30

schools. In his address to the National Education Association in 1890, Bishop Ireland, granting the necessity of state operated schools, pleaded for cooperation with religious bodies in an effort to provide religious instruction.

But by that time the die had been cast. The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884 rejected the public school as dangerous to Catholic faith and morals, and decreed that a parish school be maintained "near every church . . . within two years." It also bound all Catholic parents to send their children to parish schools unless they could show that sufficient training in religion was provided in some other way.

What happened after the Third Baltimore Council demonstrates that the Catholic Church is not the authoritarian monolith that is pictured in the Protestant mythology. The Vatican could instruct and the council could decree, but the response was determined by the state of the Catholic pocketbook, the fluctuating national economy, the exigencies of internal Catholic migration, and by the attitude of a substantial group of Catholics who were not persuaded that parochial schools were either the necessary or the only answer to the problem of religious instruction. In the year of the council's decree, about 37 percent of Catholic parishes operated schools. By 1900 that figure declined to 36 percent, although the church had grown and with it the number of schools. But by 1968 the figure had jumped to 57 percent, after which it began to decline.

The reasons for the big jump in this century, much of it falling between 1940 and 1965, are many and complex, but two factors are clearly discernible. The first is economic. Macaulay's quip that "the Irish are distinguished by qualities which make them interesting rather than prosperous" turned out to be inapplicable to Irish Catholics in America. As the American Catholic community became affluent, it was better able to afford the double taxation in support of their own as well as the public schools. The second factor is the disciplinary incentive provided by the promulgation in 1918 of the *Code of Canon Law*. Canon 1374 reads, "Catholic children may not attend non-Catholic, neutral, or mixed schools, that is, those which are open also to non-Catholics," and goes on to stipulate under what conditions exceptions may be allowed. But all the diocesan statutes, episcopal orders, and pastoral rhetoric devised to enforce Canon 1374 could not gainsay

the obvious fact that few if any dioceses were fully equipped to provide all the schooling Catholic youngsters wanted. In the nature of things, the exceptions had to be many, and the stern sanctions for noncompliance were rarely invoked.

The growth of all types of church-sponsored schools during the past 100 years took place under the stress of a succession of legal challenges. During the 1880s, zealous advocates of the burgeoning public school system and militant patriots of various hues mounted repeated campaigns to abolish all private schools by state decree. Laws to that effect were passed in Wisconsin and Illinois, but a vigorous defense by Catholics, Lutherans, and other church groups brought about their prompt repeal. But the battle was not over. During ensuing decades bills for the abolition of parochial and foreign language schools were filed in several states, with those in Michigan, Nebraska, and Oregon proving to be the most threatening. The stubborn efforts to compel all children to attend public schools were finally laid to rest by the Supreme Court's unequivocal decision in *Pierce* v. *Society of Sisters*, wherein the Court, in striking down the Oregon law under review, stated: "The fundamental theory of liberty upon which all governments in this Union repose excludes any general power of the state to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only. The child is not the mere creature of the state. . . ."

The diversity of Catholic schools is not widely appreciated because non-Catholics tend to think of them all in terms of the parochial school stereotype. The three basic types, parochial elementaries, diocesan elementaries and secondaries, and "private" schools and academies conducted by religious orders, differ from each other and there are striking differences within each group. The parochials generally reflect neighborhood, ethnic, regional, and class differences. Besides the conventional schools serving the children of lower- and middle-class neighborhoods, there are others working with children in the slums of big cities, enrolling both non-Catholic and Catholic blacks. Diocesan high schools, on the other hand, generally reach out to young people living in urban gray areas and adjacent segments of suburbia. The schools conducted by religious communities include academies catering to the desire for an elite Catholic college preparatory schooling in an exclusive setting. Portsmouth Priory in Rhode

Island, founded by the English Benedictine Congregation, and the Canterbury School at New Milford, Connecticut, originating under Jesuit auspices, are good illustrations. LaSalle Military Academy at Oakdale, Long Island, directed by the Christian Brothers, offers a Christian education in an atmosphere of military discipline and courtesy. The range of ethnic interest among Catholic orders is illustrated by the St. Labre Indian Mission School at Ashland, Montana, conducted by the Capuchin Fathers, not far from the scene of Custer's last stand.

Financial stringency is the widely publicized explanation for the recent decline in Catholic schools, but there are other factors not as apparent. Facing a rapid decrease in teachers from the religious orders, the schools have been engaging lay teachers who expect salaries comparable to those paid by the public schools. Most Catholic educators are loathe to cover the soaring costs by raising tuition, lest they end by serving not only a diminishing clientele, but one selected mainly on the ability to pay. Another reason for the attrition is the rise of Catholics into the middle and upper strata of American society, with predictable changes in their attitude toward Catholicism and separate schools. A growing number of Catholic laymen and church leaders, while acknowledging that Catholic schools did yeoman's service in easing the acculturation of millions of Catholic immigrants, also maintain that the schools are a product of the seige mentality of the nineteenth-century church, and as such unsuited to a time in which Catholicism is widely accepted.

Catholic prelates, educators, and laymen are in the midst of a searching reappraisal of Catholic schooling in the light of the church's present social, educational, and spiritual objectives. The likelihood is that Catholic schools will emerge from their ordeal somewhat diminished numerically, but qualitatively stronger and better organized. If they were to be phased out in large numbers, the loss to educational diversity would be incalculable, and the added cost to the American taxpayer would assume critical proportions.

A word is in order about the other arm of Catholicism, the Greek Orthodox Church. It is less well known in this country because it is numerically much smaller and under old-world ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Prior to 1945, Orthodox schools were few and far between. But the fear of being submerged in the

societal mainstream spurred the rapid growth of day schools after World War II. The schools are typically parochial in ownership and control, under a strong tradition of congregational autonomy and close rapport with the Orthodox community.

The Growth of the Major Protestant School Groups

The development of Protestant schools differs from the Catholic experience in two basic respects. First, most Protestant denominations are products of a long history of sectarian fission spawning many splinter groups, each with its special theology and jealously guarded identity. Second, up to the Civil War, American Protestants could regard the public schools as largely their own creation, for the emerging schools strongly reflected the beliefs and mores of the overwhelming Protestant majority. But once the constitutional mandate for the separation of church and state was applied to the public schools and religion was gradually forced out of the curriculum, certain Protestant churches that formerly acquiesced in them felt a growing need to build their own church-sponsored schools. That was the response of many Calvinists, Lutherans, Episcopalians, Quakers, and Dutch Reformed. Old-line Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists, however, were more disposed to go along with the secularized education offered by the state, but urged the faithful to supplement that schooling with religious instruction in the home and at Sunday school.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, the educational zeal of the old-line denomination has been matched by that of new "third force" sects born or reconstructed in the fires of the evangelical revival movement. Splinter groups of Methodists and Baptists of various persuasions, Seventh-Day Adventists, Assemblies of God, Churches of Christ, and other pentecostal and holiness sects are responsible for much of the growth of Protestant schools since the Civil War.

Among the old-church Protestants, the Lutherans have long been active in maintaining parochial schools. In the educational undertaking of Lutheranism in America, reaching over three centuries, two distinct waves can be identified. The first extends through the colonial period to about 1820 and is confined to the eastern states. The second ranges from 1820 to the present and

has its center in the Midwest. The first began, as we noted earlier, with the original settlements of Swedish, Dutch, and German Lutherans in the mid-Atlantic states, Pennsylvania chiefly, with smaller clusters scattered over Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. When Henry Melchior Muehlenberg, a man of vision and great organizing talent, arrived in Pennsylvania in 1742, he found only about nine Lutheran schools in the state. By 1820 that figure had risen to about 240, not to mention an uncounted number of German language schools conducted outside the bounds of church congregations. At that time the total of Lutheran schools in New York, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia was about forty-eight.

As this eastern wave of Lutheran schools began to subside, a second wave was rising. By 1818, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois had been admitted to the Union, and the westward movement was on in earnest. The new immigrants from abroad and the emigrants from the mid-Atlantic states moving westward included many Lutherans who, finding themselves bereft of churches and schools, called for help from their established eastern brethren. The strong beginning of a Lutheran school movement in Ohio, where fifty-four schools had been established by 1820, was soon overshadowed by the vigorous efforts of a group of Saxon immigrants who founded in 1847 the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, a group known for its uncompromising orthodoxy coupled with a deeply pietistic strain. Other Lutheran bodies organized at mid-century—such as the Synods of Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota—were also active in the parochial school movement.

But it remained for the Missouri Lutherans to found a strong school system that is still in full vigor. The earliest of these schools were true pioneers in rude outposts where a Lutheran school, housed in a log cabin or a sod hut, was often the only educational institution for miles around; the school frequently instructed Lutheran and non-Lutheran children alike, and some attempted to educate Indian children as well. Instruction in the standard school subjects and in religion was in German, along with some work in English. From such humble beginnings the Missouri Synod schools grew, until at their peak in 1965, they numbered 1,374 elementary and secondary schools enrolling 161,357 students.

For the Lutherans at least it holds true that those church bodies subscribing to firm, explicit doctrinal convictions are the ones most intent on educating the young in their own schools. Besides the Missouri Synod, the only other Lutheran body maintaining a true school system is the small, fundamentalist Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod, which conducts upwards of 225 elementary and secondary schools, and is still growing. On the other hand, two of the largest Lutheran bodies originating in mergers of smaller synods—the Lutheran Church of America and the American Lutheran Church—conduct only about a hundred schools between them, most of fairly recent origin, and many in California, where transplanted middle-westerners have sparked a revival of parish education.

In the anti-German backlash of World War I, Lutheran schools with their bilingualism and German cultural orientation came under severe attack. Some expired, victims of 100 percent Americanism. Others closed during the depression of the thirties. But after World War II renewed interest ushered in a period of rapid growth, bringing the schools to their present levels.

Resembling the schools of the Missouri Synod in their generally solid, conservative style are those of the Christian Reformed denomination. The sponsoring body came into being in 1857 as a schismatic offshoot of the old Dutch Reformed Church. It maintains over 200 elementary and secondary schools, as well as Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan, a major teacher training center for "Christian" schools. The Reformed schools, owned, managed, and supported by local Christian School Associations, had grown sufficiently by 1920 to justify the founding of a National Union of Christian Schools (NUCS), with membership open to any school subscribing to a statement of "Reformed Faith," whatever the sectarian affiliation. Thus, Congregational, Presbyterian, and other schools with a Calvinist orientation are eligible to join. Over half of the Reformed schools existing today were founded after 1945. Virtually all are coeducational.

After the Lutherans, the next largest group of Protestant schools is the creation of the Seventh-Day Adventists, a numerically small "third force" sect known for its international activities on behalf of education, health, religious literature, and worldwide missionary work, all supported by the most generous tithing to be found in American churches. Adventists trace their history to the

Millerites and the pathetic drama of an unfulfilled prophecy of the second coming of Christ and the end of the world which was to take place March 21, 1844. The Seventh-Day group owes its inception to the divine visions of Ellen G. White, a frail, self-educated woman whose preaching and prodigious output of religious tracts remain the inspiration for a vast network of Adventist enterprises.

The educational philosophy of Adventist schools is set forth by Mrs. White in her book entitled *Education*. According to her testimony, God revealed to her a plan for schools and colleges and the objectives that were to guide them. "True education . . . has to do with the whole being," she wrote. "It is the harmonious development of the physical, the mental, and the spiritual powers. It prepares the student for the joy of service in this world and for the higher joy of wider service in the world to come." "Whole being" and "joy of service" are not mere rhetoric to the Adventists; they are key symbols in a blueprint for an activist Christianity that links the maxims of Poor Richard with the fervor of evangelical piety and mysticism.

A unique theme of Adventist schooling is the extensive health program. This too was opened to Mrs. White in a comprehensive vision revealing the essential relationship between good health, godliness, and efficiency in service, along with a detailed set of health rules incorporated in Adventist education from kindergarten through medical school, and served by an international chain of hospitals, sanitaria, leprosaria, and health food companies.

Beginning with a first academy in 1872, the Adventist educational system now embraces elementary and secondary schools, colleges, universities, and medical schools. The approximately 1,100 schools of the "North American Division," are part of a worldwide network of 5,000 institutions. Many operate extensive work programs by means of farms and broom or furniture factories maintained by the schools. The aim is not only the development of manual skills, but training in self-reliance, good workmanship, and thrift. The first Adventist school of this type—now Oakwood College near Huntsville, Alabama—was for blacks, reflecting the Adventists' origin among New England abolitionists. Today there are about ninety-two Adventist boarding academies in the United States, most of them coeducational. Auburn Aca-

demy situated at the foot of Mt. Ranier, and Blue Mountain Academy in the Poconos offer terminal as well as college preparatory programs. Because the sect is numerically small and spread thinly over a vast area, Adventist elementary schools are often small and struggling.

The history of schooling among the Presbyterians, a numerically strong old-church Calvinist denomination, presents an interesting contrast with other Protestant groups. The Presbyterians' commitment to the academy and college movements, and, briefly in the mid-nineteenth century, to parochial schools, was exceptionally vigorous up to the Civil War, but thereafter declined rapidly, so that today there remain only about thirty elementary and secondary schools, mostly in the South, while most of the many colleges founded by the church are now nonsectarian.

The story of the Presbyterian parochial school movement is surprisingly brief, considering the church's consistent interest in education and its solid, influential membership. A report prepared in 1847 by Cortland Van Rensselaer, secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Education, proposed a system of schools to teach "the usual branches of sound elementary instruction" and to provide daily religious instruction. A campaign to create a favorable sentiment for the project stressed the poor quality of the religious and moral instruction provided by public schools. By 1861, over 260 schools had been founded, some of academy stature, with the major concentrations in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Indiana. Although individual schools flourished, the project as a whole was plagued by a lack of financial support. When the onset of the Civil War ruined the church's finances and disrupted its organization, the project was terminated, though some schools survived much longer.

Developments in the closing decades of the century tended to diminish Presbyterian zeal for education. The long-standing conflict between Old and New Light factions and the division of the church into northern and southern branches weakened it. Moreover, the emergence of Presbyterians as an upper-class group with ready access to good suburban public and prestigious independent schools diminished the need for separate Presbyterian schools.

The history of Episcopal schools is unique in that, unlike the dissenting groups that settled most other American colonies, Epis-

copalians took root on the shores of the Chesapeake Bay without a break in polity with the parent Church of England. But because there was no American bishop in the colonial period to guide and facilitate the development of schools, they grew slowly. And what had been accomplished was largely undone by the Revolution, and the creation of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. Thereafter parish and boarding schools, colleges, and seminaries grew steadily, so that by 1862 parish schools were functioning in at least eleven states. Because the church suffered no serious disruption during the Civil War, the growth of its institutions continued with relatively little interruption into the twentieth century.

Best known of the Episcopal schools are the 120 college preparatory boarding and high schools. Founded in most cases in the nineteenth century by groups of interested clergy and laymen, or by a diocese, these for the most part single-sex institutions are still regarded, in elite circles, as the educational bellwethers of the Protestant establishment.

The founding of Groton illustrates how it was done. When Endicott Peabody conceived the idea of starting a boys' boarding school, he found willing listeners among his influential Brahmin friends. As the original trustees happily included J. Pierpont Morgan, the financial auguries of the venture were bright. The school opened in 1884 with the stated aim of cultivating "manly, Christian character" in a family-like atmosphere. While the ostensible aim was to prepare boys for college, Peabody regarded that as incidental to "the moral and physical as well as intellectual development" of his charges. He was modelling Groton on the public schools of England, which he believed succeeded better than the American prep school in developing maturity and leadership. As he retired after fifty-six years as Rector, Peabody had the satisfaction of numbering among his graduates a long list of distinguished judges, governors, congressmen, senators, and men of affairs, and of being the mentor and confidant of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, his most famous pupil.

Less well known but far more numerous are the parish elementary schools on which Episcopalians have concentrated much attention recently. By 1970 there were about 265 middle schools and an additional 566 offering combinations of elementary and pre-school work. Parish enrollment is growing vigorously, reflect-

ing a rising demand for a good academic education under church auspices.

Episcopal schools resemble the nondenominational independents more than they do other Protestant schools. This is true especially of the secondary and boarding schools, many of which are members of the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS). They also have their own coordinating agency, the National Association of Episcopal Schools, with a voluntary institutional membership of over 600.

Among the small old-church Protestant denominations with a long history in education the Quakers are outstanding. For three centuries they have exerted an influence on American education out of all proportion to their numbers. Quaker schools were among the very earliest in the country. In Pennsylvania, the center of Quaker culture and influence, the schools tended to have close relations with public schools. It was not uncommon for a Quaker school to function for all practical purposes as a public school, or to receive support from public funds. This is not surprising, because Quaker schooling is typically free of catechizations and creedal affirmations and extends the hand of tolerance and brotherhood.

Another consequence of the Quaker rejection of ecclesiastical authority in favor of a reliance on individual interpretation and the Inner Light is their concern for the education of women, and of Indians and blacks as well. Some of the earliest coeducational academies owe their founding to Quakers. The concern for racial equality is central to their faith. "Let your light shine among the Indians, the Blacks and the Whites that we may answer the truth in time," George Fox exhorted American Quakers in 1690. Quaker activities on behalf of the education of Negroes drew frequent remonstrances at Yearly Meetings to the effect that not enough was being done. Black students were admitted to many Quaker schools after the Civil War, and separate schools for the industrial training of Negroes were founded in southern states.

Though the existing number of Quaker schools is small—about 32 elementary and 24 secondary schools—their influence extends far beyond the Society of Friends, for the schools are sought out by non-Quakers in search of a good education. Germantown Friends School, for example, is widely known for its progressive program and service projects, and as a model of forward-looking,

innovative education. Schools of this type tend to affiliate closely with the independent schools and the NAIS.

The Baptists and Methodists, the largest Protestant denominations by far, have a checkered history in parochial schooling. Of the schools presently existing, some are survivors of the academy movement, others are carry-overs from a past commitment to parochial schooling, but most are of very recent origin.

After the creation of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1845, the faithful founded a chain of academies and schools, but most of these expired during the Civil War and its aftermath. A fresh period of growth began after Reconstruction, spurred by the growing fear of "godlessness" of the public schools and by the controversy over the theory of evolution. By the end of World War I, over fifty academies were in being under Baptist auspices, including thirty mountain schools supported by the Home Mission Board.

The Baptist attitude regarding parochial schools is conditioned by circumstances peculiar to this largest Protestant denomination. First, about a third of its over twenty-three million members are Negroes who are integrated in the whole, but rarely in local units. Second, the denomination is splintered into more than thirty distinct groups, some of them very small. Third, many of the congregations consist of only a few dozen members, too limited a group to maintain a school. There are now about 108 elementary and thirty-seven secondary schools under Baptist auspices, over a third of them founded in recent decades.

Many Baptist and some Methodist schools belong to the National Association of Christian Schools (NACS), which embraces schools of many sects, including the Assembly of God, Free Methodist, Grace Brethren, Foursquare Gospel, Pillar of Fire, and other groups originating in this century among the southern rural poor who felt spiritually disinherited by the prosperity of the established churches. Owned and controlled by parent associations, about half to two-thirds of the NACS schools are racially integrated, many in a token way, but some are in principle and effectively interracial. The association also harbors missionary schools with other ethnic concerns, such as the Southwest Indian School at Glendale, Arizona, sponsored by the World Gospel Mission.

The main energy of Methodism during the first half a cen-

tury after its American founding in 1784 went into preaching rather than formal schooling, with circuit riders striving to win converts in mountain cabins and camp meetings along the expanding frontier. But in the second half, Methodists were energetically founding schools, academies, and colleges. With the Civil War, the momentum was lost and much of the earlier work perished. After the war the church assigned a lower priority to parochial schooling, although individual Methodists, rising in affluence, were very active in sponsoring schools and colleges. The church relied mainly on the public schools, supplemented by religious instruction in Sunday schools. That helps account for the fact that only about thirty-five elementary and secondary schools are conducted under Methodist auspices, most of them in the South and Southwest.

The educational ideals of the Old Order Amish and their close kin the Mennonites, tracing their spiritual ancestry to the Anabaptist movement, derive from a desire to perpetuate the values of a closely knit, rural, pietistic family and folk community. The public school in the form of the little red schoolhouse of song and legend suited the Amish child well enough, for there it was treated as a member of the group rather than an oddball, and the school managed to impart the desired skills in the three Rs through the eighth grade. But with the spread of urbanization, industry, and mass education came the consolidated school which Amish youngsters found a culturally alienating and disorienting experience. So the Amish did what beleaguered minorities have done all through American history; they built their own schools. Beginning with a Delaware school in 1925, Amish education prospered, so that there are now over 200 in operation, and their number is growing.

The Church of Christ, Scientist, a relative newcomer to the religious scene, also conducts schools of its own, which is not surprising in view of Mary Baker Eddy's didactic evangelism of mind-to-mind healing. Best known of the small number of Christian Science schools is the cluster of institutions known as the Principia at St. Louis, Missouri, offering a Christian Science oriented education from nursery school through college.

The Emergence of Hebrew Schools

Jewish education in the United States rests on a venerable tra-

dition going back to the Book of Deuteronomy. It is more remarkable, therefore, that most present day Hebrew schools were founded after 1940. Although Jews have resided in this country since early colonial times, their numbers remained very small until the surges of immigration from western and southern Europe brought exponential increases. While records go back to a Hebrew school in New York in 1730, by 1854 there were only seven such schools. The newly arriving immigrants were generally too poor to support separate schools, so the synagogues usually supplemented public school education with religious instruction in part-time schools meeting evenings and weekends. As recently as 1940 the number of full-time Hebrew schools had risen to only about thirty, all in the Orthodox camp. The Conservative and Reform groups felt as yet no need to found schools.

But the ominous world events of the ensuing decades provoked a grave reassessment. The genocidal Nazi war, the migration of Jewish intellectuals to the United States, the founding of the State of Israel, and the rising influence of American Jews all contributed to a changed outlook. The rapid growth of Hebrew schools was one of the consequences. About 90 percent of the 500 or more now in being were founded since 1940. Of these about fifty are under Conservative and three under Reformed auspices.

The growth of the all-day yeshivot is best understood as an effort to counteract the growing estrangement of American Jews from their ancient heritage. Now that over 80 percent of American Jews are native born, there is a concern lest Jewish youth spurn their religious and cultural heritage. Most Hebrew schools have come into being as a result of organized promotion by one of several national organizations. The Torah Umesorah of New York City offers a variety of services to Orthodox schools, while the Commission of Jewish Education of the United Synagogue has a comparable relationship with Conservative schools.

The curriculum of the modern Hebrew day school is not so much an outgrowth of earlier school experience as it is a response to the circumstances of Jewish life in twentieth-century America. Hebrew studies, consisting of instruction in basic religious texts and in Jewish history and culture, usually take up a block of hours, followed by the English program, consisting of a general education in the subjects commonly taught in the public schools. The strenuous days often begin at eight a.m. and end at five or six p.m.

In the past, most yeshivot admitted boys only. Boys and girls are still educated separately, except at the elementary level and in some progressive schools. But coed yeshivot are more and more coming into favor.

Black Muslim Schools

The newest arrival among the religiously affiliated private schools are the Black Muslims. Though unquestionably religious schools, they are *sui generis*, fitting none of the traditional rubrics of American denominationalism. They are conducted usually in a religio-ethnic setting replete with the trappings of the "Nation of Islam." The University of Islam No. 1, founded at Detroit in 1932, is the oldest. Other units of the Muslim educational complex are located in Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., Atlanta, and Baltimore. The University of Islam in Harlem, Mosque No. 7, recently enrolled upwards of 650 pupils ranging in age from three to eighteen.

The chief aim of these schools is to endow the black child with a positive, dynamic self-image and a disciplined outlook on life. The schools take a firm anti-white stance as the most effective way to reverse the downward cycle of failure and self-denigration of black youth. The curriculum sticks to the academic essentials, but in some schools Arabic and French are added. Discipline has a quasi-militaristic cast and the rules regarding dress and grooming are strict. Some schools teach boys and girls separately, one group in the morning and the other in the afternoon, so that each may concentrate on learning.

The most remarkable fact about the growth of the church schools is that most of it has occurred since the Second World War. American intellectuals tend to write off religion as a deplorable mythology that once powerfully influenced our basic institutions but is now largely overcome. The rapid growth of church schools during the last twenty-five years, the Catholic schools excepted, seen as one aspect of the postwar "turn to religion," suggests that we may be in the first phase of another Great Awakening involving a general reorientation of the social and intellectual outlook of western society.

THE PANORAMA OF INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

In the hands of zealous nineteenth-century advocates of the public schools, "public" became loaded with connotations of virtue, patriotism, and democracy, whereas "private" acquired pejorative meanings such as elitism, snobbery, or undemocratic and un-American attitudes. Almost overlooked was the fact that private schools, which now educate almost five million young people annually, perform a public function and as such are a vital national resource. The nonsectarian private schools, sensitive to the pejorative meanings attaching to "private," prefer to be known as independent schools. It is they, rather than the parochials, that people have in mind usually when they think of "private schools."

The independents exhibit an even higher degree of diversity than the sectarian schools. The church organization with its educational service agency exerts somewhat of a standardizing influence among the church schools of a given denomination. Moreover, church affiliated schools are more inclined to accept the curricula and standards of public schools in academic subjects, while the independents, believing it is a part of their mission to do a superior job academically, are not all that respectful of the public schools. As autonomous institutions, the independents are free, in theory at least, to be as imaginative and experimental, or as traditional or eccentric as they please. In reality, of course, they are conditioned by what is salable in the educational market. But because families differ in their concept of what kind of education is best for their children, the market invites the display of many different school models.

The distinction between independent and denominational schools is blurred somewhat by the fact that certain church schools are closely allied to the independents. This is true generally of Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Quaker schools, as well as of certain Catholic ones. It is not that they value their denominational ties and the religious aspect of education less; it is rather that their patrons and the public think of them primarily as academically superior schools.

The development of independent schools since 1825 is intertwined with the rise and decline of the academy movement. This is true in particular of the prestigious independent boarding schools. It is generally assumed that these institutions imitated the aristocratic British public schools, such as Eton, Harrow, or Winchester, in their philosophy, regimen, and stress on sports. There are resemblances, to be sure, but this explanation of the origin of the American boarding school is too simple. Other educational concepts and the changing circumstances of American life strongly influenced the development of the boarding school.

The educational philosophy of the American boarding school came to earliest fruition in the Round Hill School at Northampton, Massachusetts, an institution that was destined to have a brief but influential career. The founders, Joseph Greer Cogswell and George Bancroft, after attending Exeter and Harvard, toured Germany, Switzerland, and England to familiarize themselves with the latest continental theories of schooling as well as the best traditional and innovative teaching methods. It was a time of quickening educational theory, the fountainhead of which was Johann Heinrich Pestallozi. Cogswell was particularly impressed by Immanuel von Fellenberg, a Pestallozian disciple, and his *Landschule* at Hofwyl. Here in an unpolluted rural setting Fellenberg practiced "the art of education," emphasizing that it "consists in knowing how to occupy every moment of life in well-directed and useful activity of the youthful powers, in order that . . . nothing evil may find room to develop itself." Cogswell, a sharp critic of the low state of academy education and intellectual life in the United States, undertook the building of a new school incorporating Fellenberg's methods. Round Hill, opening in 1823, marked the inception in this country of the boarding school philosophy calling for the isolation of boys in a unique subculture in a bucolic setting—a carefully contrived, concentrated

learning environment conducted under the watchful eyes of concerned tutors.

The influence of Round Hill was enormous, as was that of William Augustus Muhlenberg, another Fellenbergian and founder of Flushing Institute on Long Island. Graduates of these two institutions had a large part in founding, staffing, supporting, and, through successive generations, patronizing the growing list of Episcopal and other boarding schools. St. James in Maryland, St. Paul's in New Hampshire, and St. Mark's and Milton Academy in Massachusetts, all drew inspiration from these two pioneers.

The development of the family-type boys' boarding school after the Civil War is best understood in the light of what was happening in the colleges. Until late in the nineteenth century, the level of work required by some colleges was often only a little above that in the best academies. But the growing thirst among Americans for a broader and deeper culture, coupled with the new educational demands levied by the growth of industry technology, spurred the colleges to offer a more rigorous, thorough-going curriculum. As a consequence, many institutions took steps to improve the quality of college preparation. Timothy Dwight, Yale's president, was instrumental in establishing the Hotchkiss School in Connecticut, as was Princeton's McCosh in refurbishing a struggling old academy at nearby Lawrenceville. Beside these endowed schools, and earlier academies such as Exeter and Andover which had been transformed into college preparatory boarding schools, many similar institutions emerged in the decades flanking the turn of the century. By the onset of World War I the image of the prep school was fixed for most of this century, not only in the East, where they originated, but in the South, Southwest, Far West, and to a more limited extent in the Middlewest. The schools spread in response to many motives, among them a reaction against the rigidity of the public school bureaucracies, the aspirations of the expanding circle of the rich, the search for an idyllic education of mind and character in wholesome surroundings, and the parental desire for that undefined "best" education available. But as the public high schools prepared ever larger numbers of students for college, the elitist image of the boarding schools began to lose its appeal. The youthful rebellion in the late 1960s against the strict regimen of the *in loco parentis* boarding school further damaged its image.

The rapidly escalating cost of a boarding education was another factor. Whether the declining fortunes of these schools is a long run trend or merely a temporary setback it is too early to say. In any case, the diminishing popularity of boarding schools has provoked a thorough going reassessment of their mission and prospects.

With respect to the independent girls' boarding schools, by the closing decades of the nineteenth century two distinct types are recognizable. The first, following the example of the academically strong Emma Willard and Mt. Holyoke seminaries, developed as college preparatory institutions. Their number was small to begin with. The other, while not neglecting intellectual culture, stressed the cultivation of the "feminine" virtues. Miss Porter's at Farmington, Connecticut, was the prototype of many such schools that emerged in the Northeast and South after the Civil War and up to World War I. Most were proprietary institutions and remained so until recent decades, even after they had been transformed into prep schools. Within the last decade the trend towards coeducation has brought about mergers or relations of coordinacy between girls' and boys' schools, thus augmenting the substantial list of coeducational boarding schools emerging in the late nineteenth century and after, many under church auspices.

Independent day schools greatly outnumber the boarding schools. The distinction between them is no longer as clear as it once was because of the recent trend among boarding schools to welcome day students, chiefly for financial reasons. Most day schools are of fairly recent origin, though a few of the Quaker and Episcopal and other church-related schools affiliating with the independents have histories reaching back several centuries. But they are the exceptions. The typical independent day school is located in or near a city and was founded in this century.

Several types are recognizable, one of which is the country day school. The motivating idea originally was to provide an educational setting, away from the smoky, vice-laden city environment, where young people could receive in classrooms and on playing fields an education comparable to that offered at a good New England boarding school, but with the advantage that the students would be safe in the family nest evenings and weekends. By 1937 the country day movement had become sufficiently co-

herent to produce a Country Day Headmasters' Association with over 100 members.

Certain day school groups espouse a special educational philosophy. The Waldorf schools embrace the ideas of Rudolf Steiner, the Austrian educator who inspired an almost religious devotion to his child-oriented pedagogy. Finding the conventional schooling too intellectualistic, Steiner proposed a program that would enable the child to encounter the world with his whole being—mind, heart, and will. A small but ardent band of American disciples founded eight schools in this country and an association bearing his name. Felix Adler's Society for Ethical Culture, a small but influential international humanist movement seeking to promote fellowship, service, and basic social reforms, was the wellspring for the founding of schools with a positive but flexible philosophy that embodies certain traits of the progressive movement but avoiding its extremes.

The educational philosophy that affected the main stream of independent day school development more than any other was the progressive school movement. While private schools were among the leaders, public schools as well were drawn into its orbit. In *The Transformation of the School*, Lawrence Cremin describes the genesis of the movement late in the last century, how it captivated many intellectuals and teachers, its wide impact on schools and colleges in the period between the world wars, and its collapse in the fifties as it failed to keep pace with the continuing transformation of American society. Beginning with Francis Wayland Parker's effort to revolutionize the public schools of Quincy, Massachusetts, by substituting for the formal regimen of the traditional classroom a child-centered program emphasizing firsthand observation, manipulation, and the needs of the individual student, the movement enlisted the powerful support of John Dewey, whose Laboratory School of the University of Chicago became the testing ground of progressivist hypotheses, even as Dewey became the patron saint of the movement. His *Democracy and Education*, hailed as the greatest contribution to pedagogy since Rousseau's *Emile*, is the most circumspect and mature statement of progressive educational philosophy.

Spurred by the revolt against the harsh pedagogy of the conventional school and the ferment of new thought, progressive schools emerged in growing numbers in the early decades of this

49

century. They were founded usually either by teachers eager to build on the child's artistic and creative bents, or by parents who were fed up with school traditionalism. Caroline Pratt derived her inspiration from watching a child at play, and decided to found a school in scale with the outlook of children. The Play School, later the City and Country School in Greenwich Village, was the result. Further uptown, Margaret Naumberg, approaching education through the affective life of children, founded the Walden School. A group of Baltimore parents, desiring to have a school free of discrimination and with a program based on the actual interests of children, founded the Park School. It was their good fortune to appoint as the first headmaster Eugene Randolph Smith, a tough-minded Deweyan, a founder and early president of Progressive Education Association (PEA) who later headed the Beaver Country Day School at Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts, a school founded by parents who were inspired by John and Evelyn Dewey's *Schools of Tomorrow*. Out in California, Edward Yoemans, Sr., author of *Shackled Youth*, an indictment of the rigid formalism in public schools, founded the Ojai Valley School, one of the early progressives in the West. He had become interested in progressivism through his association with the public school board of Winnetka, Illinois. In Vermont, Carmelita Hinton's vision of a progressive boarding school led to the founding of the Putney School, with a program designed to give students an opportunity to develop manual skills and a sense of participation in running a community.

The rise and unexpectedly rapid demise of the progressive movement is best gauged by the brief, meteoric history of the PEA. Formally launched in 1919 by eighty-five members and with Charles W. Eliot, president of Harvard, as honorary president, it had surged by 1928 to 6,000 members, with John Dewey as honorary president. The membership exceeded 10,000 in 1932, but, caught in the turmoil of the Great Depression, the PEA began a long, futile struggle, goaded by the radical critiques of George S. Counts, to formulate a social and educational platform for its members. The inability to agree on the ideological direction the movement should take in a time of confusing political, social, and educational signposts and changing priorities, coupled with the onset of World War II, doomed the organization. But the demise of the PEA did not spell the end of progressivism. Though

it went under a cloud of ridicule and abuse during the fifties and sixties, it has reemerged recently in altered forms and under new names. Its influence remains pervasive and profound, and there is scarcely a public or private school in the United States which is untouched by the concepts and methods of progressive education.

In the wake of the progressive movement and stimulated by the student revolt of the late 1960s, all sorts of new, experimental private schools are emerging with such words as "free" or "community" in their titles, or based on one or another model such as the Montessori, Leicestershire, or Summerhill schools. Many of these are launched with more enthusiasm than hardheaded judgment, but an impressive number of schools founded in the last ten years show signs of stability. Most of these include the early grades only, but here and there teachers, parents, and philanthropists are fired by a vision of building a new kind of middle or secondary private school, difficult as that is in a time of spiralling costs. The Westledge School on the side of Hedgehog Mountain near Hartford, Connecticut, is an example. An experiment of another kind was the system of private street academies and Harlem Preparatory School that flourished briefly in the late 1960s. Its aim was to rescue bright young black people from the downward spiral of failure by instilling in them self-confidence and the hope that by means of a college education they could lift themselves out of the morass of narcotics, hustling, dead-end jobs, and squalor. But the unwillingness of most corporate and foundation donors to commit themselves to long-term, continuous funding, and internal friction proved to be the undoing of that project.

Negro suspicion of private schools, aroused mainly by the resort of southern whites to segregationist academies, appears to be abating. Through much of their earlier history, Negroes had to rely on private education, because the public schools were either closed to them by law, or were subsequently opened to them on a "separate but equal" basis. Today as the discontent of minorities with ghetto schools increases, black people too are inclined to experiment with private or community schools as a means of providing for their children an education that can repair the damage and give them a fair chance in life.

In 1975 it is apparent that many private schools are less pre-

occupied than before with nursing their privacy and are instead devising projects to utilize their resources effectively in a wider collaboration with other schools, public and private, and with community agencies combatting poverty, ignorance, and delinquency. And as the issue of state aid for nonpublic schools is raised in one state after another, legislators and the public are becoming better informed about the aims, resources, and problems of private schools. Moreover, the various associations of church schools and the NAIS, which formerly were largely content to go their own separate ways, are now federated under the Council for American Private Education (CAPE) with headquarters in Washington, D.C. Its function is to keep all private school people informed of existing and pending federal legislation affecting education and to serve as a spokesman for private education before congressional committees and government agencies. Fifteen states now have statewide CAPEs embracing independent and church schools.

It would be misleading to suggest that the national and state federations of private schools and the inclusion of a representative of private school interests on the staff of the U.S. Office of Education will solve the complex problems of the partnership of private and public schools in the education of the nation's children. These steps do, however, provide a basis for the progressive solution of common problems and the furtherance of a constructive relationship and improved communication. In the past, public and private schools went their separate ways largely oblivious of each other's roles. The result of this communications vacuum is a lack of appreciation of what each can contribute to the common good and how they can cooperate in the common interest. The new goal is to recognize the spheres and validity of public and private schools and that the dual system adds alternatives, richness, and diversity to the opportunities open to the young, while it strives to bring the two spheres into a harmonious working relationship.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

A diversified literature awaits the reader who delves more deeply into the history of private schools. There is space here to mention only a few books, some containing extensive bibliographies.

Most general histories of American schools are by authors interested in delineating the origin and triumph of the public schools. They give short shrift to the private ones. Perhaps the best for our purposes, old but still useful, is Elmer E. Brown's *The Making of Our Middle Schools* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1903; reprinted by the Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969).

For the colonial period and beyond, Lawrence A. Cremin's *American Education: The Colonial Experience—1607-1783* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970) a wide-ranging treatment, contains a valuable "Bibliographical Essay," pp. 577-668. The footnotes in *The Age of the Academies*, edited by Theodor R. Sizer (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964) can serve as a running bibliography. Concerning Catholic schools, Neil G. McClusky's *Catholic Education in America—A Documentary History* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964) is indispensable. The same author's *Catholic Education Faces Its Future* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1968) contains valuable insights and good leads. A history of independent schools remains to be written. The footnotes in chapter III of the present author's *American Nonpublic Schools—Patterns of Diversity* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972) mark a beginning.

This book and others in the series are made available at low cost through the contribution of the Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, established in 1965 with a bequest by George H. Reavis. The Foundation exists to promote a better understanding of the nature of the educative process and the relation of education to human welfare. It operates by subsidizing authors to write booklets and monographs in nontechnical language so that beginning teachers and the public generally may gain a better understanding of educational problems.

The Foundation exists through the generosity of George Reavis and others who have contributed. To accomplish the goals envisaged by the founder the Foundation needs to enlarge its endowment by several million dollars. Contributions to the endowment should be addressed to The Educational Foundation, Phi Delta Kappa, 8th and Union, Bloomington, Indiana 47401. The Ohio State University serves as trustee for the Educational Foundation.

You, the reader, can contribute to the improvement of educational literature by reporting your reactions to this fastback. What is the outstanding strength of this publication? The glaring weakness? What topics do you suggest for future fastbacks? Write to Director of Special Publications, PHI DELTA KAPPA, Eighth and Union, Box 789, Bloomington, IN 47401.

All seventy-eight titles can be purchased for $23.00 ($19.00 for paid-up members of Phi Delta Kappa).

Any six titles $3.00 (only $2.00 for members); twelve titles $5.00 (only $4.00 for members).

Discounts for bulk orders of the same title are allowed at the rate of 10 to 25, 10%; 26 to 99, 20%; 100 to 499, 30%; 500 to 999, 40%; 1000 or more 50%. Discounts are based on a unit cost of 50¢ per copy (35¢ for members).

MONEY MUST ACCOMPANY ALL ORDERS FOR LESS THAN $5.00 OR ADD $1.00 FOR HANDLING.

Order from: PHI DELTA KAPPA, Eighth and Union, Box 789, Bloomington, Indiana 47401

The fastback titles now available are:

1. **SCHOOLS WITHOUT PROPERTY TAXES: HOPE OR ILLUSION?** by Charles Benson and Thomas A. Shannon
2. **THE BEST KEPT SECRET OF THE PAST 5,000 YEARS: WOMEN ARE READY FOR LEADERSHIP IN EDUCATION.** by Elizabeth Koontz
3. **OPEN EDUCATION: PROMISE AND PROBLEMS.** by Vito Perrone
4. **PERFORMANCE CONTRACTING: WHO PROFITS MOST?** by Charles Blaschke
5. **TOO MANY TEACHERS: FACT OR FICTION?** by Herold Regier
6. **HOW SCHOOLS CAN APPLY SYSTEMS ANALYSIS.** by Joseph E. Hill
7. **BUSING: A MORAL ISSUE.** by Howard Ozmon and Sam Craver
8. **DISCIPLINE OR DISASTER?** by Emery Stoops and Joyce King Stoops
9. **LEARNING SYSTEMS FOR THE FUTURE.** by Ron Barnes
10. **WHO SHOULD GO TO COLLEGE?** by Paul Woodring
11. **ALTERNATIVE SCHOOLS IN ACTION.** by Robert C. Riordan
12. **WHAT DO STUDENTS REALLY WANT?** by Dale Baughman
13. **WHAT SHOULD THE SCHOOLS TEACH?** by Fred Wilhelms
14. **HOW TO ACHIEVE ACCOUNTABILITY IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.** by Henry Dyer
15. **NEEDED: A NEW KIND OF TEACHER.** by Elizabeth C. Wilson
16. **INFORMATION SOURCES AND SERVICES IN EDUCATION.** by Lorraine Mathies
17. **SYSTEMATIC THINKING ABOUT EDUCATION.** by Alice H. Hayden and Gerald M. Torkelson
18. **SELECTING CHILDREN'S READING.** by Claire E. Morris
19. **SEX DIFFERENCES IN LEARNING TO READ.** by Jo M. Stanchfield
20. **IS CREATIVITY TEACHABLE?** by E. Paul Torrance and J. Patrick Torrance
21. **TEACHERS AND POLITICS.** by James W. Guthrie and Patricia A. Craig
22. **THE MIDDLE SCHOOL: WHENCE? WHAT? WHITHER?** by Maurice McGlasson
23. **PUBLISH: DON'T PERISH.** by J. Wilson McKenney
24. **EDUCATION FOR A NEW SOCIETY.** by Frederick Mayer
25. **THE CRISIS IN EDUCATION IS OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM.** by James J. Shields, Jr.
26. **THE TEACHER AND THE DRUG SCENE.** by John Eddy
27. **THE LIVELIEST SEMINAR IN TOWN.** by John L. Parker
28. **EDUCATION FOR A GLOBAL SOCIETY.** by James Becker
29. **CAN INTELLIGENCE BE TAUGHT?** by Thomas G. Sexton and Donald R. Poling
30. **HOW TO RECOGNIZE A GOOD SCHOOL.** by Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner
31. **IN BETWEEN: THE ADOLESCENTS' STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE.** by Jerry Disque
32. **EFFECTIVE TEACHING IN THE DESEGREGATED SCHOOL.** by James H. Bash
33. **THE ART OF FOLLOWERSHIP (WHAT HAPPENED TO THE INDIANS?)** by Berlie J. Fallon
34. **LEADERS LIVE WITH CRISES.** by Theodore Kauss
35. **MARSHALLING COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP TO SUPPORT THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.** by Nolan Estes
36. **PREPARING EDUCATIONAL LEADERS: NEW CHALLENGES AND NEW PERSPECTIVES.** by Melvin P. Heller
37. **GENERAL EDUCATION: THE SEARCH FOR A RATIONALE.** by Harry S. Broudy
38. **THE HUMANE LEADER.** by Edgar Dale
39. **PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE: TOOL OF LEADERSHIP.** by Sue Broadrick
40. **APHORISMS ON EDUCATION.** by Raymond Muessig
41. **METRICATION, AMERICAN STYLE.** by John Izzi
42. **OPTIONAL ALTERNATIVE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.** by Vernon Smith, Daniel Burke, and Robert Barr
43. **MOTIVATION AND LEARNING IN SCHOOL.** by Jack Frymier
44. **INFORMAL LEARNING.** by Martha King
45. **LEARNING WITHOUT A TEACHER.** by Michael Rossman
46. **VIOLENCE IN THE SCHOOLS: CAUSES AND REMEDIES.** by Michael Berger
47. **THE SCHOOL'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR SEX EDUCATION.** by Elizabeth Mooney
48. **THREE VIEWS OF COMPETENCY-BASED TEACHER EDUCATION: I THEORY.** by Joel Burdin
49. **THREE VIEWS OF COMPETENCY-BASED TEACHER EDUCATION: II UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON.** by W. Robert Houston and Howard L. Jones
50. **THREE VIEWS OF COMPETENCY-BASED TEACHER EDUCATION: III UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA.** by Edgar Kelley
51. **A UNIVERSITY FOR THE WORLD: THE UNITED NATIONS PLAN.** by Harold Taylor
52. **OIKOS, THE ENVIRONMENT AND EDUCATION.** by George O'Hearn
53. **TRANSPERSONAL PSYCHOLOGY IN EDUCATION.** by Thomas Roberts and Frances Clark
54. **SIMULATION GAMES FOR THE CLASSROOM.** by Mark Heyman
55. **SCHOOL VOLUNTEERS: WHO NEEDS THEM?** by Charlotte Mastors
56. **EQUITY IN SCHOOL FINANCING: FULL STATE FUNDING.** by Charles Benson
57. **EQUITY IN SCHOOL FINANCING: DISTRICT POWER EQUALIZING.** by James Guthrie
58. **THE COMPUTER IN THE SCHOOL.** by Justine Baker
59. **THE LEGAL RIGHTS OF STUDENTS.** by Thomas Flygare
60. **THE WORD GAME: IMPROVING COMMUNICATIONS.** by Edgar Dale
61. **PLANNING THE REST OF YOUR LIFE.** by Theodor Schuchat
62. **THE PEOPLE AND THEIR SCHOOLS: COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION.** by Mario Fantini
63. **THE BATTLE OF THE BOOKS: KANAWHA COUNTY.** by Franklin Parker
64. **THE COMMUNITY AS TEXTBOOK.** by Catharine Williams
65. **STUDENTS TEACH STUDENTS.** by Peggy Lippitt
66. **THE PROS AND CONS OF ABILITY GROUPING.** by Warren Findley and Miriam Bryan
67. **A CONSERVATIVE ALTERNATIVE SCHOOL: THE A+ SCHOOL IN CUPERTINO.** by William Pursell
68. **HOW MUCH ARE OUR YOUNG PEOPLE LEARNING? THE STORY OF THE NATIONAL ASSESSMENT.** by Stanley Ahmann
69. **DIVERSITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION: REFORM IN THE COLLEGES.** by Ronald Gross
70. **DRAMATICS IN THE CLASSROOM: MAKING LESSONS COME ALIVE.** by Elizabeth Kelly
71. **TEACHER CENTERS AND INSERVICE EDUCATION.** by Harry Bell and John Peightel
72. **ALTERNATIVES TO GROWTH: EDUCATION FOR A STABLE SOCIETY.** by Robert M. Bjork and Stewart E. Fraser
73. **THOMAS JEFFERSON AND THE EDUCATION OF A NEW NATION.** by Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr.
74. **THREE EARLY CHAMPIONS OF EDUCATION: BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN RUSH, AND NOAH WEBSTER.** by Abraham Blinderman
75. **A HISTORY OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION LAWS.** by M. S. Katz
76. **THE AMERICAN TEACHER: 1776-1976.** by Johanna Lemlech and Merle B. Marks
77. **THE URBAN SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENCY: A CENTURY AND A HALF OF CHANGE.** by Larry Cuban
78. **PRIVATE SCHOOLS: FROM THE PURITANS TO THE PRESENT.** by Otto F. Kraushaar

See inside back cover for prices.